

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3965

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4751

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR PARM XG

SUBJ: CSCE: CBM'S; PARAMETERS AND TEXT OF MANEUVERS CBM

REF: A) GENEVA 4618 B) GENEVA 4636; C) GENEVA 4287 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: AS FORCAST REF A, NEUTRALS PROPOSED
MANEUVER PARAMETERS OF 300 KMS, 25,000 TROOPS, AND
21 DAYS IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON JUNE 20, DRAWING PREDICTABLE
FIRE FROM SOVIETS. ALLIES RESPONDED IN EQUAL MEASURE.
NEUTRALS ALSO TABLED REF B TEXT, WHICH WAS CRITICIZED
BY BOTH SOVIETS AND ALLIES ON A NUMBER OF POINTS OF
DETAIL. DURING SUBSEQUENT FOUR-POWER MEETING IN EVENING
OF JUNE 20, SOVIETS HINTED THEY COULD MOVE FURTHER ON
MANEUVER PARAMERS IF ALLIES ACCEPTED REF C AMENDMENTS
TO UK "VOLUNTARY BASIS" TEXT. ON JUNE 22, SOVIETS
CARRIED THIS FURTHER BY CONVEYING TO UK PERMREP
A NEW OFFER OF 25,000 TROOPS, 21 DAYS, AND 250 KMS.,
BUT WITH ZONE EXPANDED TO INCLUDE BALTIC AND BLACK
SEA COASTS, ALL OF THIS CONDITIONAL ON "VOLUNTARY
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BASIS" AMENDMENTS. ALLIED REACTION TO NEW OFFER NOW

HINGES LARGELY ON WHETHER FRG CAN ABANDON 300 KMS.
END SUMMARY.

2. AUSTRIAN NEUTRAL CAUCUS LEADER (GEN. KUNTNER) OPENED
JUNE 20 CBM SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING BY CIRCULATING PROPOSED
TEXT IN REF B AND GIVING BRIEF SUPPORTING RATIONALE.
KUNTNER ALSO PROPOSED FIGURES OF 300 KMS., 25,000
MEN, AND 21 DAYS FOR BLANKS IN TEXT FOR MAJOR NUMERICAL
PARAMETERS, AND A SEPARATE THRESHOLD OF 12,000 MEN FOR
AMPHIBIOUS OR AIRBORNE MANEUVERS. OTHER NEUTRAL REPS
INTERVENED IN SUCCESSION TO SUPPORT AUSTRIAN STATEMENT.

3. IN SUBSEQUENT INTERVENTION, SOVIET AMBASSADOR
MENDELEVICH ACKNOWLEDGED THAT NEW NEUTRAL FIGURES
WERE AN IMPROVEMENT OVER "MIDDLE COURSE" SUGGESTED
BY NEUTRALS A YEAR AGO, BUT ARGUED THAT THEY WERE STILL
TOO HIGH AND DID NOT REPRESENT A SOLUTION. SOVIETS WERE
PREPARED TO GO UP TO 250 KMS., 30,000 TROOPS, AND
18 DAYS, BUT "THIS IS THE LIMIT". SOVIETS COULD NOT BE
EXPECTED TO CONTINUE "UNIVERSAL CONCESSIONS", AND
THEY WOULD WAIT FOR RESPONSE TO THIS OFFER.

4. UK, CANADA, GREECE AND NORWAY PRAISED NEUTRAL
ATTEMPT TO FIND A COMPROMISE, BUT CRITICIZED FIGURES
FROM OPPOSITE STANDPOINT AND IN LIKE MEASURE.

5. IN ADDITION TO DISCUSSION OF NUMERICAL PARAMETERS,
SUBCOMMITTEE REPS GAVE INITIAL COMMENTS ON NEUTRAL TEXT.
FOLLOWING IS PARA-BY-PARA RESUME OF COMMENTARY:
A. BOTH UK AND SOVIET REPS QUESTIONED USE OF WORD
"MEN" VICE "TROOPS" IN CONNECTION WITH THRESHOLD AND
ASKED NEUTRALS TO CLARIFY INTENT. NEUTRALS DEFERRED REPLY
TO LATER MEETING. SECOND SENTENCE SPARKED MOST CONTROVERSY.
AUSTRIA, YUGOSLAVIA, AND SWEDEN CONTRASTED AMPHIBIOUS AND
AIRBORNE TROOPS WITH REGULAR GROUND FORCES IN TERMS OF
MOBILITY AND SUPPORTING FIREPOWER, AND SAID THIS WAS
RATIONALE FOR LOWER THRESHOLD FOR AMPHIBIOUS/AIRBORNE
ELEMENTS. MALTA AND TURKEY SUPPORTED NEUTRAL APPROACH.
MENDELEVICH, HOWEVER, SAID SENTENCE WAS "WITHOUT
FOUNDATION;" SOVIETS COULD NOT SEE NEED FOR A DUAL
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SYSTEM WITH SPECIAL PARAMETERS FOR CERTAIN TYPES OF
FORCES. HE SUGGESTED THAT NEUTRALS CONTEMPLATE "ANOTHER
SOLUTION" TO PROBLEM, BUT DID NOT ELABORATE ON WHAT
OTHER SOLUTION MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE TO SOVIETS. AT CLOSE
OF MEETING, NORWEGIAN REP EXPRESSED SYMPATHY WITH
NEUTRAL APPROACH, AND PROPOSED THAT MEMBERS REFLECT
ON POSSIBILITY OF SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO AMPHIBIOUS
AND AIRBORNE ELEMENTS OF COMBINED MANEUVERS.

B. TURKISH REP SUGGESTED INCLUSION OF "OR SHARED WITH" AFTER "FACING" IN SEJOND SENTENCE OF NEUTRAL TEXT, BUT QUICKLY WENT ON TO MAKE CLEAR THAT TEXT WOULD STILL NOT MEET SPECIAL NEEDS OF STATES SHARING FRONTIERS WITH NON-PARTICIPATING STATES. MENDELEVICH SAID WORD "FACING" WOULD ENLARGE SCOPE OF MEASURE, AND RESULT IN SOVIETS BEING OBLIGED TO PROVIDE INFORMATION WHICH WAS "NOT NEEDED." SWEDEN'S PROBLEM WITH NOTIFICATION ON BALTIC SEACOASTS WOULD BE SOLVED "IN A DIFFERENT MANNER", BEARING IN MIND DEPTH OF ZONE SOVIETS WERE NOW PREPARED TO OFFER. SWEDISH REP ASKED IF SOVIETS WERE NOW PREFER TO END SENTENCE WITH A PERIOD AFTER "FRONTIERS". MENDELEVICH SAID NO, THAT "FACING" SHOULD BE REPLACED BY "SHARED WITH".

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C. ONLY COMMENT WAS CANADIAN PROPOAL TO INSERT "AT LEAST" BEFORE FIGURE FOR TIME-SCALE.

D. MENDELEVICH REJECTED SUBPARA (C) AS A THROW-BACK TO "PALEOLITHIC" PERIO F CONFERENCE. RE SUBPARA (D), SOVIETS COULD ACCEPT BEGINNING, BUT CLAUSE BEGINNING WITH "INCLUDING" WAS REDUDNDANT AND SHOULD BE

DROPPED. CANADIAN REP SAID ALLIES WERE STILL PREPARED TO WORK ON BASIS OF EARLIER YUGOSLAV TEXT (GENEVA 3646 OF JUNE 8, 1974), AND NOTED THAT SUBPARA (C) OF NEW NEUTRAL TEXT HAD DROPPED "NUMERICAL STRENGTH" IN FAVOR OF HEAVIER EMPHASIS ON QUALITATIVE ASPECTS OF MANEUVER. THIS WOULD REQUIRE FURTHER REFLECTION AMONG ALLIES.

E. UK REP CALLED ATTENTION TO NEUTRALS' USE OF WORD "WILL," AND POINTED OUT THAT ALLIES PREFER TEXT WITH "MAY AT THEIR DISCRETION". HE ALSO EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ABOUT LIMITING FEATURES OF TEXT IN WORDS "IN PARTICULAR TO THOSE NEAR THE AREA OF ACTIVITY". MENDELEVICH ECHOED UK POINT ON NATURE OF COMMITMENTS HE SAID SOVIETS WOULD PREFER PHRASE LIKE "IN PARTICULAR
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TO THOSE NEAR THE AREA OF ACTIVITY", BUT IT WAS NOT ESSENTIAL. HE ADDED THAT A PARAGRAPH OF THIS NATURE WOULD NEED SOME CONSIDERATION AND EDITING. NORWEGIAN REP SAID END OF SENTENCE ("WHEN IT IS CONSIDERED...") MIGHT GIVE RISE TO AMBIGUITIES AND COULD BE IMPROVED.

6. SUBSEQUENT TO SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING ON JUNE 20, KOVALEV AND MENDELEVICH BROUGHT UP CBM'S IN FOUR-POWER MEETING WITH SHERER, HILDYARD (UK), AND ANDRE (FRANCE). SOVIETS STRONGLY HINTED THAT THEY MIGHT BE ABLE TO ELICIT NEW FLEXIBILITY ON PARAMETERS FROM MOSCOW, IF ALLIES COULD ACCEPT DROPPING "THEREFORE" FROM UK "VOLUNTARY BASIS" TEXT (REF C).

7. ALTHOUGH US AND UK REPS DID NOT COMMIT THEMSELVES ON THIS CHANGE, SOVIETS MADE DEFINITE PROPOSAL ON JUNE 22 IN CONVERSATION WITH HILDYARD. IN EXCHANGE FOR ALLIED AGREEMENT TO DROP "THEREFORE", SOVIETS SAID THEY NOW HAD AUTHORITY TO ACCEPT PARAMETERS OF 25,000 TROOPS, 21 DAYS, AND 250 KMS. IN ADDITION, THEY COULD ACCEPT SUBSTANCE OF SWEDISH FORMULA SO AS TO APPLY MANEUVERS MEASURE ALONG BALTIC AND BLACK SEA COASTS. SOVIETS STRESSED THIS WOULD RESULT IN MORE SOVIET TERRITORY BEING COVERED BY MEASURE THAN IF BAND OF 300 KMS. WERE DRAWN MERELY FROM BORDERS WITH OTHER STATES. IN ADDITION, SOVIETS SAID THEY COULD ACCEPT REFERENCE TO AMPHIBIOUS AND AIRBORNE TROOPS IN OVERALL DEFINITION OF MANEUVER, ALTHOUGH THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT LOWER THRESHOLD FOR AMPHIBIOUS/AIRBORNE MANEUVERS.

8. MENDELEVICH CONFIRMED SOVIET OFFER IN MEETING WITH SHERER ON JUNE 23, AND ASKED FOR US HELP IN GETTING ALLIED ACCEPTANCE. SOVIETS MADE CLEAR TO US AND UK

THAT THEY ARE UNDER HEAVY TIME PRESSURE TO REACH SETTLEMENT ON
PARAMETERS BY JUNE 24, PRESUMABLY IN EFFORT TO INFLUENCE
ATTITUDES OF EC-NINE MINISTERS TOWARDS JULY SUMMIT
CONCLUSION OF CONFERENCE.

9. INITIAL UK DELEGATION REACTION TO NEW SOVIET OFFER
IS CAUTIOUSLY FAVORABLE, AS IS THAT OF FRENCH DELEGATION.
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FRG DEL IS SEEKING TELEPHONE INSTRUCTIONS FROM
GENSCHER ON WHETHER FRG CAN NOW GIVE WAY ON 300 KMS.
TAKING INTO ACCOUNT FRG REACTION, WHEN RECEIVED, AND
THOSE OF OTHER ALLIES DURING CAUCUS SCHEDULED THIS
AFTERNOON, UK WILL AGAIN SEE SOVIETS IN EVENING
TO CONVEY ALLIED VIEWS. ON QUESTION OF AMENDMENTS
TO "VOLUNTARY BASIS" TEXT, PRESENT UK INTENTION IS TO
PROPOSE A REFINEMENT OF LAST PARA WITHOUT "THEREFORE",
SO THAT TEXT WOULD READ "RECOGNIZING
THAT THIS MEASURE, DERIVING FROM POLITICAL DECISION,
RESTS UPON A VOLUNTARY BASIS,"

10. ALTHOUGH MENDELEVICH TOLD US GROMYKO HAD OBJECTED
TO THIS POSSIBLE COMPROMISE AMENDMENT DURING VEINNA
MEETING, HE HINTED THAT THESE OBJECTINS MIGHT BE OVER-
COME AT THIS JUNCTURE IN CONFERENCE IF IT
WOULD LEAD TO AGREEMENT. DALE

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